

VOICELESS ASPIRATES IN CLASSICAL ARMENIAN SAID TO BE OF PERSIAN ORIGIN

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There are, in Classical Armenian, a body of loan words from Persian which show aspiration, *p'*, *t'*, *k'*, from Ir. *p*, *t*, *k*, rather than producing the non-aspirate *p*, *t*, *k*, which are ostensibly expected, and of which there are many examples in Armenian¹. Some have suggested that a reference to chronological forces was the solution to this two-fold development of the Armenian reflexes of the early Iranian non-aspirated voiceless consonants. The earlier words that came into Armenian from old Iranian got caught up in the prehistoric Armenian sound shift of non-aspirate *C- to aspirate C'; those that came in later were not changed. Thus earlier Ir. *t* became Arm. *t'*; the later words with Ir. *t* remained unchanged. But, this idea will not work for we have both *p'*, and *p* from Ir. *p*,

1. Arm. *paṛaw* 'old woman,' NPer. *pārāv* 'id'; Arm. *tapar* 'hatchet, axe,' NPer. *tabar* 'id'; Arm. *koyr* 'blind,' MPer. *kōr* 'id.'

and we know that the Armenian consonant shift showed a development of IE **p* to Arm. *h* and *zero*². Thus another solution must be found. As the following data reveals, a great amount of the aspirated Armenian loans can be explained. A variety of solutions are operable³. Some words can be shown to be directly from Indo-European. Other words are not of Iranian origin at all, but rather words from a third provenance which by chance have a shape similar in both Armenian and Iranian, and which Hübschmann mistakenly considered of Iranian origin⁴. They are instead from a source that we can refer to imprecisely as Mediterranean vocabulary, widespread words of that area yet of unknown source. Similarly, a large number of these pairs, for which a cognate exists in Iranian, should be considered immediately from Syriac⁵ and Syriac *p*, *t*, *k* are consistently reflected in Armenian with aspiration⁶. There are then, altogether,

2. Here note, of course, Arm, *het* 'trace, footprint', IE **ped-*, and Arm. *otn* 'foot.' IE **pod-*.

3. Certainly not all, but of the fifty-two Iranian loans words which appear in Armenian with perplexing aspiration, two-thirds have ready solutions.

4. It is truly curious that Hübschmann, whose judgement is usually so fine, makes many serious errors in the sphere of Iranian, in which he was also so highly skilled and productive.

5. Hübschmann would call any word loaned into Armenian, with cognates extant in Middle or Old Iranian, an Iranian loan. But, a large number of these words also had Semitic equivalents, which more easily could have come thencepiggy-back loan, into Armenian from Iranian via Syriac.

6. Here see my "Syriac Loan-words in Classical Armenian." *Humanism, Culture, and Language in the Near East: Studies in Honor of Georg Krotkoff*. Johns Hopkins University Press

three forms of language misplacement made by Hübschmann: words of Indo-European origin, words that he considered Iranian which should rather be included among those taken from Syriac, and an additional part, though surely with Iranian cognates, which are ultimately of Mediterranean origin, though the original language cannot be designated. Example will be given in the following text.

A fourth cause of aspiration appears in the sequence *C's-* and *C'š-*. Though it can be shown that the original form of these words was with non-aspirate *C*, it is clear that no word in Armenian can begin with non-aspirate **Cs-* or **Cš-*, and, those instances of an unaspirated medial or final *-Cs(-)* or *-Cš(-)* are not only few, but words for which there is usually an explanation. An example of this shift to aspiration can be seen in the Armenian proper name *Alek'sander*, and it seems to occur in any position, initial, medial, final, with *p*, *t*, and *k*. A fifth cause of aspiration can be traced to Armenian words that are derived from a Persian (or Arabic) word with what might better be seen with an *f*, *θ* or *x* rather than a stop. Sixthly, a certain number of isoglosses have been dismissed when there is not a close semantic balance, my view being that these Iranian-Armenian loans under discussion here were of recent enough vintage for there not to have been time for wide semantic shifts; this is especially confirmed by the overwhelming majority of these pairs which are semantically identical. There are also a few rejected correspondences for which we have *ad haec* solutions. There is a final group for which I have no explanation, but their number is modest. Thus we have eight classes of change in all. The critical reader of this paper will see that some of the causes given for aspiration are obviously valid; others will be less so, and

forthcoming. And "Some Probable New Syriac Vocabulary." *La Museon* forthcoming.

approach the borderline, being highly judgemental.

Following are those Armenian words in *p' t' k'* for which Hübschmann suggested Iranian origin.

* * *

Arm. Φ P'

1. Դափ *dap'* 'tambourine,' *dap'em* 'strike, pound,' *dap'iwn*, *dap'umn* 'the sound of a tambourine, noise, uproar.' Known from the fifth century in Chrysostom and others. The term is not original in Persian, and is known, in a different form, as a loan word in Greek, $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\pi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$ 'tambourine, kettle drum,' a term shared also with Aram. *tūppa*, Heb. *tūp*, and Arab. دف *duff* 'to beat a drum, tambourine'; outside of Semitic, the word is known as Grg. *dapi*⁷, Tush and Udi *dap* 'tambourine.' It later moved to Turkish as *tef* 'id.' The term could have come to Armenian via Syriac *p* (> Arm. *p'*), or from another loaned form with final *-f*; there is no compelling reason why this term must be from Iranian. It originally might have been onomatopoeic. See also *t'mbuk* below.

2. Թափուտ *t'ap'ut* 'coffin, wooden box.' A hapax, apparently, from the Armenian translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes, *The Romance of Alexander the Great*⁸. It appears in manuscripts also as *t'aput* and *t'abut*. Cognates are Per. and Arab. تابوت *tābūt* 'id', Aram. *tībūta*, Heb. *tēbāh* 'chest,' Egyp. *ḏb3.t* and *tb.t* 'id.' The word could have come to Armenian from Syriac, where *t* and *p* > Arm. *t'* and *p'*, or from another source unknown. There is no compelling

7. For Kartvelian and North-East Caucasian words, the glottalized consonants will be marked by a subfixed dot; e.g., Ç , the aspirated forms will be unmarked.

8. The *NHB* provides: $\text{հրամայեաց քափտուվ բառնալ զմարմինն, եւ քաղել}$. "he ordered (them) to bear away the body in a *t'ap'ut* and bury it."

reason to derive it from Persian, and the word is clearly well distributed in a variety of unrelated languages⁹.

3. Կանեփի, կանափ *kanep'*, *kanap'* 'cannabis.' The term is poorly supported in early Armenian literature. It does not appear in the *Bark' Gatianosi* of the sixth (?) century but can be found in the tenth century *Girk' vastakoc'*, the Armenian *Geoponica* (Venice 1877: 249) and in the *Haybusak* #1296. The term 'cannabis' is widely distributed: Gk. κάνναβις, Per. کنب *kanab*, کنو *kanav*, Arab. کنب *kunab*, Lat. *cannabis*, Grg. *kanapi*. There is no reason to be certain that the term is derived from Persian, or even that it was original in Persian.

4. Սպետափառ *spetap'ar* 'noble, gallant.' Hapax, Thomas Artsruni (St. Petersburg 1887: 303). Thomson (1985: 365) translates it as 'dazzling white,' apparently assuming an original Armenian **spitakap'ar*¹⁰, as in Khorenatsi, Tiflis 1913: 39 and Agathangelos, Tiflis 1909: 408. This fits well in the context in which the word appears;¹¹ it cannot possibly have the meaning 'noble' as in the *NHB*, nor can it be related to Ir. **spetapar*, though the final part of the word, *p'ar*, is surely related to Arm. *p'ark'* 'glory,' MPer. *farr* 'id,' which will be discussed below.

9. In Maria Ayyvazian's new study of the Iranian loanwords in Armenian (1992), she, correctly, does not list Arm. *t'ap'ut* nor *kamex*, which follows, and others, as loans from Iranian. But others Armenian words, considered Iranian loans by her, are not so, and I do not understand the basis for her selection.

10. Here see also Bolognesi 1960: 12.

11. Էբր գլխոյ նորա թխակերպ, գանգուրագեղ գիսավորութեամբ ողերեկ ջոկացեալ ի վերայ սպետափար մականուն յոյժ խոռոմախիտ թանձրեամբ. "The hair of his head was dark, long, and curly, carefully arranged above a dazzling white forehead in very thick and dense waves."

5. Փաղաւնգամուկ, ֆարանցամուկ *p'atangamusik*, *faranchamusik*. Possibly 'hedge mustard, *Sisymbrium polyceratum*,' but the meaning is unsure; related to Arm *jagaxot*, 'id.' *Bark' Gatianosi* = καρπόφυλλον 'dried flower-bud of the clove tree, *Eugenia caryphyllata*.'¹² Its relationship to Arm. *jagaxot* is confirmed in an Arabic-Armenian pharamaceutical dictionary¹³. Other than its possible sixth century appearance in the *Bark' Gatianosi*, it is found in the *Geography* of Shirakatsi¹⁴. The term is known in Middle Persian from the *Bundahishn* in the shape *palangamušk*; it is attested in Syriac as *parangamušk* and is Arabized as *faranj(a)mušk*. Because of its early use in Armenian, an Arabic origin is unlikely, but another Semitic language such as Syriac could well have been the source. However, the varied spellings of the word in manuscripts imply a variety of influences, and there could also have been a later Arabic influence which affected the spelling in medieval manuscripts.

6. Փառք *p'ark*¹⁵ 'glory, majesty, honor.' Bible and other fifth century literature. This term is derived from MPer. *farr*, NP فر *farr*, for which the normal reflex is Arm. *p'*.

7. Փարգաստ *p'argast* 'Nonsense!, Poo! From the fifth century: Seberianos, Chrysostom. Per. پرگست *pargast* 'Heaven forbid, Have mercy on us.' The term is clearly a mild expletive, and initial

12. I am unable to resolve this semantic discrepancy.

13. Yerevan MS 357, and others. For a preliminary report see my "A Newly Discovered Non-Alphabetic Arabic-Armenian Pharmaceutical Dictionary." *Manuscripts of the Middle East* forthcoming.

14. Robert Hewsen (1992) has confirmed that this well-known text, attributed to Pseudo-Khorenatsi, is by Ananias of Shirak (seventh century).

15. On Arm. *-r-* from Iranian *-rr-*, see Bolognesi 1960: 28.

aspiration in Armenian is in keeping with that function.

8. **Փարթաւ** *p'art'am* 'opulent, wealthy.' Found in Chrysostom but not common in fifth century literature; has a greater frequency later: Narekatsi, Lambronatsi, Shnorhali, etc. Derivatives include *p'art'amapēs* 'abundantly,' *mecap'art'am* 'incredibly rich,' *p'art'amut'iwn* 'riches, opulence,' *p'art'amašnorh* 'generous.' Hübschmann takes the term from Iranian, citing Pazand and MPer. *fradom* 'first.' This would be an unusual semantic alignment for an Iranian loanword, yet it exists in Hebrew as *partmīm* (pl. t.) 'nobles' and Georgian *portommini* 'prince.' If the Armenian term is derived from Iranian, which is clearly the derivational language¹⁶, the Iranian initial *f*- would explain the initial Arm. *p'*. Yet I doubt, because of the semantic imbalance, and the phonetic differences, that Hübschmann should have included this word with those words derived from Iranian.

9. **Փարուազ** *p'aruaz* 'a hem, fringe.' NPer. **پروز** *parwaz* 'id.' The term is not known until the tenth century, when it appears as a hapax in the *History of the Caucasian Albanians* by Moses Kalankatuatsi (Daskhurantsi)¹⁷. The term is found in Arabic: **فروز**, *farwaz*, *farwāz* 'hem, fringe,' and this is a more likely source; explaining the Armenian initial *p'*-.

10. **Փիղ** *p'it* 'elephant.' Known from the Bible and other fifth century texts. The term appears in Iranian as MPer. *pīl*, Sogd. *pīl*, and NPer. **پیل** *pīl*; in Sanskrit as *pīlu*; in Semitic as Akk. *pīru*,

16. The term is Indo-European, cf. Skt. *prathamā*- 'first, foremost.'

17. Yerevan 1983. 175: **Ազուցին նմա արջնաթոյր ստորս չորիւք դրօշակօք, եւ դրաստս սնդուս, մետաքսաբէջս՝ նսկեթեզան փարուազով:** "They clothed him in black tunic with four streamers, and taffeta and silken Persian coats with fringes of spun gold."

pīlu, Syr. *pīlā*, Arab. *فيل* *fīl*; in the Caucasus as Grg. (*s*)*pilo* (sic), Tush *spil*. This Mediterranean word could have entered Armenian from a source unknown, or from Syriac *pīlā*, and there is no compelling reason to see it from Iranian.

11. *Փշիտ* *p'shit* 'a small coin of that name.' MPer. *pišiz*, NPer. *پشيز* *pišiz*, Syr. *pišizā* 'id.' The development of Arm. **pš* to *p's* is a regular development of mutes before a sibilant: cf. *Alek'sander*.

12. *Ֆշտիպան*¹⁸ *p'stipan* 'bodyguard'. Uncommon: Yeghishe, Yerevan 1957: 133; Faustos, St. Petersburg 1883: 139, 140, 174. *Փռշտիպան* *p'uštipan* 'bodyguard.' (Parpetsi, Tiflis 1904: 120, 129). NPer. *پشتيبان* *puštībān* 'bar of a door.' The sequence **pš* must result in Arm. *p's*; see *p'shit* above.

13. *Ֆմբսիշն* *p'ursišn* 'process, action, law-suit'; a legal term. From the fifth century; Yeghishe, Yerevan 1957: 136, 159. MPer. *pursišn* 'question,' NPer. *پرسش* *pursiš* 'question; a visitation of the sick; a mourning for the dead.' Though the Persian and Armenian words are phonetically quite similar, their meanings are quite different, and I am not convinced, in spite of the near phonetic harmony, that these terms are related.

14. *Ֆմբ* *p'uk'* 'breath of air; flatulence.' *Ֆմբբ* *p'uk'k'* 'bellows.' Bible and other fifth century literature. NPer. *پوك* *pūk* 'tinder, wind in the throat to blow on a fire.' Though there have been attempts to form an Indo-European etymology (Greppin 1971) and efforts to undo that (Greppin 1984: 37, 41), and though this word could indeed be borrowed from Iranian, it is quite likely that onomatapoetic force has brought about the aspiration.

Those words with *p'* of Iranian origin for which we have no explanation are:

1. *Փա(ն)դան* *p'a(n)dan* 'ritual mouth-covering, veil.' From the

18. For correspondence to Skt. *pr̥ṣṭi-* see Bolognesi 1960:26.

fifth century;¹⁹ MPer. *padām* 'mask for the mouth, worn by a celebrating priest.' Arab. فدام *faddām*²⁰. Judging by the great variety of spellings found in various manuscripts of Yeghishe (above), it is clear the word was poorly known, and there is no particular reason to consider the Armenian form with the nasal original. In spite of some doubts, it is more likely that the etymology is valid, but the initial *p'* is inexplicable.

2. փաթերակ առնում, փաթերակիւմ *p'at'erak arnum*, *p'at'erakim* 'to do evil, give the evil eye.' Largely in the medieval grammarians. MPer. *patyārak*, NPer. پتیاره *patyāra* 'affliction, misery.' The term has been continued into Georgian as *pateraki* 'wretched.' There is no explanation for the aspiration of *p'* and *t'*.

3. փաշաման *p'ašaman* 'anguish; blame, reproach.' From the fifth century: Seberianos, Chrysostom. MPer. *pašēmān* 'penitent, repentent,' NPer. پشیمان *pašīmān* 'penitent, ashamed.' The term is not known outside Iranian and Armenian; there is no explanation for the aspirate *p'*.

4. փուտ *p'ut* 'rotten; rottenness.' Bible and other fifth century works. MPer. *pūt* 'rotten,' NPer. پوده *pūda* 'old, worn, rotten.' The

19., Yeghishe, Yerevan 1957: 52: Հայսք առանց փանդամի մի՛ գանգցիմ. (The apparatus shows a variety of forms (in genitive): փագամի, փադանի, փաքամի, փանդամի and փադամի *p'agami*, *p'adani*, *p'ak'ami*, *p'andami*, *p'adami*.) 'dough shall not be kneaded without a veil'; Georgeay (acc. *NHB*): ի տօնս կոոցն պարտակս զերեսօքն կապեն, եւ փադամս. որ է կոզպատ. ի քերան "at the feast of the thickening, they shall cover their faces with veils, and with the *p'adam*, which is a woman's veil for the mouth."

20. From the root (?) فدم *fadama* 'to seal a mouth or aperture'

term is also known in Georgian as *puṭuro* 'rotten part of a tree.' There is no explanation for the Armenian aspirate *p'*.

* * *

Arm. Թ T'

1. Գմբէթ *gmbet* 'dome, cupola.' From the fifth century, *Hexameron* and following. MPer. *gumbad* 'dome, fire-temple,' NPer. گنبد *gunbad* 'arch, vault'; note also Grg. *gumbati* 'id', Syr. *qubbātā* 'id.' The term is more likely from the Syriac, whose *-t-* is reflected as an aspirate in Armenian. The nasal infix, shown in both Iranian and Armenian, but lacking in Syriac, is known elsewhere, independent of Iranian: note Arm. *cnctay* 'cymbal,' Syr. *ṣeṣṣālā* 'id.' Georgia also has the nasal: *cincili* 'id.'

2. Ջիւթ *jiwt* 'tar, pitch.' Bible and following literature. NPer. زفت *zift*, Syr. *zēfta*, Arab. زفت *zift*, Coptic *lam-čapt* 'id.' This word is of unknown origin, and part of Mediterranean vocabulary. There is no clear reason to think that *jiwt* came to Armenian from Iranian²¹, and Syriac is a legitimate source that would give an aspirate in Armenian..

3. Թմբուկ *t'mbuk* 'drum.' Bible and following literature. MPer. *tumbag*, NPer. تنبوك *tanbūk*; later in Turk. *dümbelek*, Kurd. *dünbek*. Like Arm. *dap*' above, with such a cognate as Gk. τύμπανον, it is best to think of the root in $\sqrt{T(M)P}$ as a wander word attached to the musical instrument it represented. Onomatopoeia could have played a role here, too, in developing the aspiration.

4. Թնդիւն *t'ndiwn* 'sound, noise.' Bible and following literature. Though Hübschmann suggests that this term is a loan from Iranian, NPer. تندر *tundur*, *tundar* 'roaring, thunder,' it is easier seen as of direct Indo-European origin, IE *(s)ton-dh*, Lat.

21. This would, then, contradict Bolognesi 1960: 67.

tono 'to thunder,' OHG *donar* 'thunder' (IEW 1021).

5. Թշնամի *t'snami* 'enemy, foe.' Bible and following literature. MPer. *dušman* 'id,' NPer. دشمن *dušman* 'id.' The aspiration is secondary here, part and parcel of the sequence *Cš- which always become C's-. See also *p'sit* and *p'stipan* above.

6. Թշնամւնք *t'snamank'* 'insult.' Although Hübschmann lists this term separately, it is part of the same root as *t'snami* above.

7. Թշւաւն *t'suar* 'unfortunate, wretched.' Bible and following literature. NPer. دشوار *dušvār* 'hard, difficult,' MPer. *duš-* 'ill-.' As above, the sequence Arm. *Cš- always yields C's-. See also Pisowicz 1986: 659.

8. Թոնիր *t'onir* 'type of oven.' MPer. *tanūr* 'oven,' Bible and following literature. NPer. تنور *tanūr*. Not an Iranian loan, but rather a Mediterranean word: Syr. *tinnūra*, Akk. *tinūru*, Late Egp. *trr*, Copt. ٤ⲣⲓⲣ, Grg. *to(r)ne*, etc. 'id.'²² There is no compelling reason it must be taken from Iranian, but note Bolognesi 1960: 69 on the final Arm. *-ir*.

9. Թւիք *t'ut'* 'mulberry.' Bible and following literature. MPer. *tūt*, NPer. توت, تود, توذ *tūt, tūd, tūḍ* 'id.' Aram. *tutā*, Arab. توت *tūt*, توط *tūt*, Grg. *tuta*, Lezghian *tut* and others. This is a widely ranging term, and there is no reason to assume it was derived in Armenian from Persian²³.

10. Կաթ *kat'* 'drop, droplette.' Bible and following literature. NPer. کات *kāt* 'drop,' Udi *kat* 'to drip.' Benveniste (1964: 12-13) rejects this etymology offered by Hübschmann, largely on the grounds that the word is not known from Persian literature, but rather once only in the dictionary of Burhān i Qāti. And, since it is a New Persian word, one cannot be sure from what dental

22. See my article "A Note on the Etymology of Late Egyptian *trr*," in *Chronique d'egypte* forthcoming.

23. On this see also Nicolas Adontz 1938: 460.

phoneme the final *-t* was derived.

11. Նաւթ *nawt* 'petroleum, naphtha.' Bible and following literature. MPer. *naft*, NPer., Arab. نفت *naft*, Akk. *nap̄tu*, Syr. *nafta*, Gr. νάφθα, Grg. *navti*, Tush *navt*. There is no clear reason to think of this word as originally Iranian; called by some Indo-European, and by others Semitic, it is possibly neither, but rather Mediterranean. For the development of **-apt* to Arm. *-awt*, see Greppin 1978: 284.

Following are those words with *t'* of Iranian origin for which we have no explanation.

1. Աթաշ *at'aš* 'name of a Persian fire.' Sebeos, 7th C. and following. MPer. *ātaxš*, Av. *atarš*, NPer. آتش *ātiš* 'fire, the fire of a Parsi temple,' and many metaphorical values. աթաշակ *at'ašak*²⁴ 'burning pain, syphilis.' NPer. آتشك *ātišak* 'small fire, syphilis.' One could argue that the original Iranian root was **ātra-š* and would appear in the shape *āθra-š*, and from which *-θ-* would come Arm. *t'*, but this would be difficult to support.

2. Ապարքանեմ *apart'anem* 'be haughty, boastful.' A hapax, Yeghishe, Yerevan 1957: 12²⁵. MPer., Paz. *āpartanīh* 'boastfulness,' NPer. برتن *bartan* 'proud, arrogant.' There is no clear explanation for the Arm. aspiration *t'*.

3. Տաւթ *tawt* 'hot weather, burning heat.' Bible and following literature. MPer. *taftan* 'to burn, shine,' NPer. تفت *taft* 'heat,'

24. This Armenian term is known only from dictionaries,

25. Եւ այսպէս հպարտացաւ բարձրացաւ ի միտս իւր, ի վեր քան զմարդկային բնութիւն ընդվզեալ ապարքանէր . . . "And so (King Arshak) became overbearing and proud in his own mind, boastful, he exceeded the nature of man." The apparatus to this edition shows no manuscript tradition with non-aspirate *t*.

*Oss. tæf*²⁶ 'heat.' Skt. *tāpati* 'to heat, burn'; Ir. *taft* would be a perfect passive participle. This Indo-Iranian word surely came to Armenian via loan, but its final aspiration has no immediate explanation. We note, though, that *tawt'* is of the same final shape as *nawt'* above, but it seems that the latter came from Indo-European, while the former seems more likely a loan word. One might argue, however, that a pre-Arm. ***-apt* > **-aft* > *-awt'* with the aspiration of *-t'* secondary from the preceeding *-f*²⁷.

4. Թափոյիկ *t'akoyk* 'drinking vessel, pitcher, jug.' Bible and following literature. MPer. *takōk* 'id,' NPer. تَكُوك *takūk* 'a cup made in the form of an animal'; Grg. *taḳuḳi* 'a cup made of gold or silver.'²⁸ This jug was apparently not a particular type. There is no clear explanation for the aspiration.

5. Թոշակ *t'ošak* 'provisions, wages.' Bible and following literature. MPer. *iōšag* 'id,' NPer. تَوْشَة *tūša* 'id.' I see no way to explain the discrepant aspiration of the initial voiceless dental²⁹.

26. Spelling from Abaev 1979: 246.

27. Here note the changed phonetic structure of Arm. *t'awt'apem* < **t'apt'ap'em* 'to turn,' a reduplicated form (Feydit 1963. 230).

28. The spelling conforms to the Middle Persian, and not the Armenian. This drinking vessel was not a particular type, and there are three separate terms for it in the Bible: Esther 1.7 ποτήριον; Song of Solomon 7.2 κρατήρ, John 2.6, 7 λίθιναι ὑδρίαί.

29. Here we should note four instances where medial Iranian *-tš-* does not result in an aspirated *-t'sh-*: *patšač* 'suitable'; *patškanm patškan* 'balcony'; *patšēk. patšēn* 'ray, brightness'; *patšir* 'pact, written treaty.' All these terms, with the exception of *patšir*, are well known terms from the fifth century. It is odd that they are all of the medial sequence *-tš-*. The first two words are

Arm. Թ K'

1. Լայքա *layk'a* 'red lacquer.' Hapax, Khorenatsi, Tiflis 1913: 179³⁰. NPer. ԼԿ *lakā*. The term probably originates in Indic: Pali *lākhā* 'a red lac dye,' Skt. *lākṣā* 'id.' The term also exists as a loan in the *Periplus* as *λάκκος χρωμότινος* 'lac dye.' There is cause to question the gloss 'red lacquer' for Arm. *layk'a*, since, in Persian, *lakā* is also glossed as a 'soft kind of leather' which fits in with the context of Khorenatsi much better, for just above the text says "Red leather is much prized among the Alans"³¹. Whatever the gloss, we do not have to be convinced the term entered Armenian from Iranian.

2. Շաքար *šak'ar* 'sugar.' Fifth century and following literature. NPer. شکر *šakar* 'id.' The term originated in Sanskrit as *śakarā* 'gravel, pebbles, granulated sugar,' Pali *sakkharā* 'id'; later, Gk. σάκχαρ (Galen, second century) > Lat. *saccharum*, Arab. سكر *sukar*, perhaps via Persian. The word appears elsewhere as Grg.

certainly of Iranian origin, and the initial Arm. *pat-* is from the Iranian preposition **pati-*. No etymological comment can be made for the two latter words, but it should be noted that no medial *-t'š-* of Iranian origin exists in Armenian. I would also like here to thank Andrzej Pisowicz for his comments on this anomaly.

30. Լայքա շատ եւ ոսկի բազում տուեալ ի վարձանս՝ առնու գտիկին օրհորդ Սաքենիկ: "(Artashes) gave much *layk'a* and gold in payment, and received (for marriage) the maiden Princess Satenik." In the apparatus there are various readings, *layk'a*, *lak'a*, *lak'ay* being of particular interest, and though the vowel may vary, the velar stop is always aspirated.

31. Քանզի պատուեալ է առ Ոլանս մորթ կարմիր (Tiflis 1913: 179).

šakari, Svan, Tush *šakar*. There is no reason to be convinced that Persian alone was the engenderer of Arm. *šak'ar*, and Arm. *šak'ar* could be from Semitic. But at any rate it is a wander word. We also can suspect that the form, now fairly consistent in the dialects³², represents a form different from that used in the early dialects, being a compromise of several competing forms from various sources.

3. Քանդակ *k'andak* 'relief, embossment.' Bible and following literature. NPer. كندة *kanda* 'something dug out, a moat.' The semantic match is not sufficiently clear to justify this correspondence. Root etymology.

4. Քանդուկ *k'anduk* 'large earthen vessel to contain grain.' Shirakatsi *Geography*³³. NPer. كاندوك, كندو *kandū, kandūk* 'a capacious jar made of clay in which grain is laid up for future use.' This Iranian term appears in Syriac as *kandūqā*, which would fit perfectly the form needed to generate the Armenian word, with initial aspirated *k'* and the final Armenian non-aspirated *k*. There is no reason to think that Ir. *kanduk* was necessarily original in that language

5. Քաշք *k'ašk'* 'the flanks or loins.' Hapax, *Letters of St.*

32. The only non-aspirated form found in the dialects is Alashkert *šakar*, but here the loss of aspiration is regular in this eastern dialect when intervocalic: կախաւ > կակաւ. See Madatian 1985: 33.

33. Acc. *NHB*: Լինի անգ հող սպիտակ. զոր մանր աղացեալ, եւ ցանեալ ի քանդուկս ի վերայ ցորենոյ ննի չմերձենայ (կամ ոչ ուտէ): "It is fitting to sprinkle a small amount of white earth, which has been ground, into a *kanduk*, over the grain, and vermin will neither draw close nor eat."

*Basil*³⁴. MPer. *kaš* 'arm-pit', NPer. کش *kaš* 'id.', Av *kaša-* 'id.' This etymology fails on a semantic level; Arm. *k'aš* cannot here be translated sensibly as 'arm-pit,' for the passage requires something of bodily substance.

6. Քարշեմ *k'aršem* 'to draw or drag.' Bible and following literature. Av. *karš-* 'id.' NPer. کشیدن *kašīdan* 'id.' Also with Skt. *karṣati* 'draw a furrow.' Arm. *k'aršem* would appear instead to be directly from Indo-European **kars-* where **-rs-* can yield Arm. *-rš*³⁵.

7. Քափուր *k'ap'ur* 'camphor.' Uncommon; Shirakatsi's *Geography*³⁶. The term is a wander word, originating in south-east Asia: Khmer *kāpōr*, Cambodian *kapu*, Malay *kāpur*, whence to Skt. *kapūra-*, MPer. *kāpūr*, NPer. کافور *kāfūr*, in Georgian as *kapuri*. The word did not reach Greek (καμφορά) or Latin (*camphora* < Greek) until the Byzantine period. There is no pressing reason to assume Arm. *k'apur* is derived from Iranian.

8. քեն *k'ēn* 'rancour, hatred, revenge.' Bible and following.

34. Acc. *NHB*: Հանդերձն գաւտեալ յարեցեալ ի մարմինն. իսկ պնդութիւն ի վեր քան զքաշսն. "The coat was joined with a belt to his body, more tightly on his flanks." This problem would be solved if we could unite the original Greek with the Armenian, and though St Basil's letters are easily available in Greek, the Armenian still exists only in manuscript, and is not readily available. Adding to the difficulties is the opacity of the Hellenizing prose.

35. Cf. Arm. *t'aršamim* 'to wither, fade' (alongside *t'aṛamim* 'id.'), Skt. *tṛṣyati* 'to thirst,' Av. *taršav-* 'dry.' See also Vittore Pisani 1951: 65.

36. Acc. *NHB*: Լինի ի հնդիկս . . . քափուր . . . եւ քաղամ դեղք բժշկականք. "There is, in India, . . . camphor . . . and many medicinal plants." See here Hewsens 1992: 75.

MPer. *kēn* 'id.', NPer. کین *kīn* 'id.', Av. *kaēnā* 'id.' This is not a Persian loan word, but instead, as Adjarian observed (*HAB*), of Indo-European origin. Note Gk. ποινή 'quit money for blood spilt,' Russ. цена 'price,' Lat. *poena* 'punishment' (< Greek), Skt. *cāyate* 'to punish,' IE *k^wein-*.

9. Գմստի *k'ust i* 'near . . .,' a phrase derived directly from Persian, کست *kust-i*. It appears in several places of Shirakatsi's *Geography* (see Hübschmann AG 258). Shirakatsi must have been at least partially bi-lingual in Armenian and Persian, and this is simply a Persian prepositional phrase incorporated whole by Shirakatsi into Armenian³⁷. The Armenian words are not from Middle Persian period, but taken directly from seventh century Persian. And, as Hübschmann shows (AG 261-280), New Persian stops (except for reflexes of *q*) usually show aspirated stops in Armenian loan words.

10. Գմստի *kurj* 'hair-clothe, hair shirt.' Bible and following literature; Ephrem. Though no Syriac parallel exists, there is an Arabic form, كرز *kurz* 'id'; however, no Iranian representative is extant, either, from any period. Hübschmann (AG 258) proposes, in spite of its clear lack, that the term is Iranian. Adjarian shows that a New-Syriac (Asori) form exists, *kūrzā*, and this, acknowledging the Arabic form as well, seems to reflect a better source than the entirely non-existent Iranian root.

11. Գմստի *k'sak* 'little bag, satchel,' NPer. کيسه *kīsa* 'purse, satchel.' The pre-Armenian sequence **ks* with an overwhelming frequency gives *k's*. See *p'sit* above.

Following are those words with aspirate *k'* of Iranian origin for which we have no explanation.

1. Խաքան *xak'an* 'a lord of the Khazars.' Fifth century literature and following. Per. خاقان *xāqān* 'a foreign king or

37. On this construction, see Bolognesi 1960: 63.

prince'; originally a Turkic word: *xaqan*. Further reflected as Byz. Gk. *χαγᾶνος*, 'the khan of the Avars,' Russ. *каган* 'king of the Khazars,' Arab. *خاقان* *xāqān* 'ruler.'³⁸ There is no ready explanation for the aspiration.

2. Պայքաբ *payk'r* 'dispute, controversy.' Fifth Century literature and following. MPer. *paykār*, NPer. *پیکار* *paykār*. The Armenian aspirate development is similar to Georgian, the parallel of which, *paekroba* 'id.', with suffixation, shows the same aspiration independently. But there is no ready explanation for this Armenian aspiration.

3. Քաշկեն *k'aškēn* 'barley-bread.' Apparently a hapax, Yeghishe, Yerevan 1957: 144³⁹. NPer. *کاشکین* *kaškīn* 'barley-bread.' This Persian-Armenian etymology cannot be challenged.

4. Քաշտիկ *k'ašti* 'ship's rudder'; քաշտիկ *k'aštik* 'ship.'⁴⁰ MPer.

38. It would be expected that *q* be reflected in Armenian as *k*, without aspiration, as Arab. *فرقان* *furqān* 'the Quran,' Arm. *բ'urkan* 'id.'

39. Եւ հրամայէր վեց առն երկու քանկէնս ժամէ ի ժամ, եւ դորակ եւ կէս ջուր. "And he ordered each six men to be given, from time to time, two loaves of barley-bread, and a jug and a half of water."

40. Both terms are a hapax. Grigor Magistros (ninth century), *Letters*, Alexandropol 1910: 220: Հանդիպի ոմանց ողբերաց քաշտեօք նաւուց. "I met some of the passengers near the rudders of ships (*k'ašteōk*)."
Nonnos (sixth century), Marburg 1908: 50 (= *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie* 1: 269): քանգի նաւակառոյցք առաջագոյն փիւնիկեցիք ասին եւ քաշտիկ՝ Շամիրամ. "Because they say the Phoenicians were the first ship-builders, and Semiramis was a galley."
Քաշտիկ՝ Շամիրամ corresponds, in the Greek original, to "τρίηρη δὲ ἡ Σεμίραμις" (Akinian, 1904: 171).

kaštīg, NPer. کشتی *kašti* 'ship.' The etymology appears faultless, and there seems no ready way to resolve the problem of aspiration.

5. Քեմուխ *k'emuxt* 'fine leather.' Fifth century and following literature. NPer. کیمخت *kīmuxt* 'the back leather of a horse or ass.' Also Grg. *kemuxti* 'leather.' There is no ready explanation of the Armenian aspirate *k*'.

6. Քէշ *k'ēš* 'religion, sect, usually non-Mazdean' (Yeznik 7x), *k'ēšakarkat* 'sectarian' (Yeznik 1x). MPer. *kēš* 'id.' There is no ready explanation for the Armenian aspiration.

7. քրպիկար *k'rtikar*. Of unsure meaning, according to Hübschmann and the *NHB*⁴¹. NPer. کردگار *kirdigār* 'God the omnipotent.' Appearing only in Yeghishe, but now read (Yerevan, 1957: 46,⁴² 137) as քրպիկար *k'rpikar* 'pious duties,' MPer. *kirbag* 'virtue. good deed.' There is no explanation for the aspiration in Armenian.

Clearly, while we can offer explanations for over two thirds of the oddly aspirated words, part remains beyond our grasp. It is particularly puzzling that some word will have multiple voiceless stops, but only one will be unexpectedly aspirated. Perhaps dialectal influences, not suspected, play a role. Yet, we are faced with the unconditional truth that some of these aspirated words had, without question, to come directly from Middle Iranian. Many exist in a decidedly Iranian environment (Yeghishe, Yeznik); others reflect words that it would be odd for a third culture to transmit, piggy-back, e.g., *p'a(n)dam* 'ritual mouth-covering.' New processes

41. Քառ անյայտ 'unknown word.'

42. եւ զմեռեալս ի հող թաղելով զերկիր ապականէք, եւ քրպիկար չառնելով ոյժ տայք Հարամանոյ. "You have buried the dead in the ground and corrupted the earth; and, by not performing pious duties, you give power to Haraman."

are needed to find the remaining causes of unsuspected aspiration in Iranian loan words in Armenian.

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